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COLLECTIONS OF THE
New Hampshire Antiquarian Society.
NO. 2.

THE SHURTLEFF MANUSCRIPT, No. 153.

BEING A NARRATIVE OF
CERTAIN EVENTS WHICH TRANSPIRED IN CANADA,
DURING THE INVASION OF THAT PROVINCE BY THE AMERICAN
ARMY, IN 1775. WRITTEN BY A MRS. WALKER, WHOSE HUSBAND WAS
IMPRISONED FOR RAISING MEN TO ASSIST ETHAN ALLEN,
IN HIS DISASTROUS ATTACK ON MONTREAL,
ON THE 25TH OF SEPTEMBER.

by Mrs Thomas Walker

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

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WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

By REV. SILAS KETCHUM,
LATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

CONTOOCOOK:
PUBLISHED BY THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.
GEORGE CROWELL KETCHUM, PRINTER.
1876.

NO. 2. 305.

NEW HAMPSHIRE
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.
NO. 2.

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A DIARY of the INVASION OF CANADA, 1775.

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ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED NOV. 19, 1873; INCORPORATED JULY 2, 1875.

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Collections of the New Hampshire antiquarian society, no. 1–4. Contoocook, The Antiquarian society, 1874–79.

106 p. 23cm.

CONTENTS.—no. 1. Mowry, W. A. Who invented the American steamboat?—no. 2. Walker, Mrs. Thomas. The Shurtleff manuscript, no. 153.—no. 3. Secomb, D. F. A list of the centenarians of New Hampshire, who have deceased since 1705.—no. 4. Ketchum, Silas. Address at the annual meeting, July 15, 1879.

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Contoocook, N. H., January 18, 1876.

At the Quarterly Meeting of the New Hampshire Antiquarian Society held this day, it was

Voted, *That the Historical Committee be requested to edit and publish an edition, not to exceed 500 copies, of No. 153 of the Manuscript Collections of the late Hon. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, purchased by this Society, and described in the catalogue of Messrs Leonard & Co. as a* ***"Fragment of a journal written at Quebec, during the American Revolution, 1775."***

G. A. CURTICE,
Corresponding Secretary.

REV. SILAS KETCHUM,
Chairman of the Historical Committee.

INTRODUCTION.

The Manuscript of which the following is a copy was found among the Autograph Collections of the late Hon. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M. D., of Boston, and is No. 153 of the Catalogue of the same, as sold by Leonard & Co., on the third of December, 1875, at which sale it was purchased, with many others, by the New Hampshire Antiquarian Society.

The Narrative originally covered twenty pages (or more) of foolscap. Of these the first leaf is wanting, of which one page appears to have contained a portion of the Narrative, the other being probably a title. The lower halves of the last five leaves are torn off and wanting; leaving eight whole and ten half pages.

The Manuscript was labeled: "*Fragment of a Journal by some unknown hand, written at Quebec during the War of '75.*" But it was manifestly written by Mrs. Walker's hand; was probably written at Montreal, at which place unquestionably was her husband's "house in town;" and the statement contained in Note "D," that the injuries received in October, '75, afflicted her husband, "to the day of his death," would indicate that the Narrative was written considerably later. The frequent mention of "the Governor," as being at the place where the events transpired, might lead to the supposition that the place was Quebec. But Gov. Carleton was at Montreal

the greater part of the time from the fall of Ticonderoga, (May 10,) till he fled from it to the capital by night, at the approach of Montgomery, on the 13th of November.

The Manuscript was evidently revised and partially corrected by another hand, about the time it was written. The chirography is coarse and staggling, disfigured by frequent erasures, corrections and interlineations. But the orthography, the style, the connection of the parts, and general mode of treatment, indicate a culture above the average culture of women in the middle ranks of life, at that period.

The document is on coarse paper, very tender, water-stained, and has barely escaped the fire with burnt edges. I have searched through several collections where such a paper would be most likely to be found, but have failed to discover it in print. It derives its chief interest from the glimpse it gives us of the inside view of affairs among the British during the memorable invasion of Canada, which came so near being a success, and which, had the spirit of self-sacrifice in the American army been sufficient to have held it together, after the terms of enlistment had expired, could hardly have failed to throw into the hands of the Colonies the control of the St. Lawrence, and the destinies of the Northern Provinces.

SILAS KETCHUM.

Malden, Mass., Dec. 31, 1875.

Fragment, &c.

(The first page wanting.)

— benefitted by the Downation of his Majesty, to the sufferers by a late fire which had happened in M——l in Gratitude, Erected (not a Statue) but a Bust, in marble of his Majesty, which was plac'd in the Parade where the Soldiers attended the Calling of the Roll. Morning and Evening on the neck of the Bust, and hanging in the form of a Rosary, at the End of which was suspended a Label, [were] some Potatoes cut & strung like Beads, with these Words, Voici le Pape de Canada [*two words erased with a knife, perhaps* nous sommes] ne le fous de l' Engleterre, which occasioned great confusion & much Ill Blood & many menaces from the officers & Soldiers. [The manuscript to this point was wholly erased with a pen, intended to make it illegible.]

a drum was sent round the Town, with offers of a Reward for the discovry of the perpetrators. But notwithstanding *this* the Bust was the following Night, or soon after, broken to pieces & thrown down a *Privy*. suspicion of Mr W—— & his party ran high, hapily for him, Dr Beaumont of the 26th Regmt was his Physician & Visited him every Day; or the Soldiery would have acted over again the Tragedy of : 64

As soon as Mr W——rs health would permit, whilst he was still under a Course of Medicine, he went down to our farm at as-Somption, distant about thirty miles from Mon! both to recover his health, & to withdraw from the clamour & confusion of the Times, which rather increas'd than diminish'd, & it was said by his Enemies that Mr W—— was gone to his Farm as a more convenient & more pri-

vate situaion to carry on a correspondence with the Rebels. Before he went down to the farm, conversing one day with a Monsr Rouville* who was soon after made a Judge, something being [was] said to Mr W—— about its being the Duty of all the Kings subject's to obey their *Master;* to which he replied: "an English-Man *owns* not the King for his *Master;* "the King is not my Master, as I d'ont *Eat* his Bread: "were I an Officer, I should own him for my Master & "obey his Commands as such; at present I am his "*subject*, only, & am ready to obey the laws." This conversation was imediately communicated to the Govr., † and the person thanked, as we were told for his zeal.

soon after this, Lieu^t H——n, then on half Pay, call'd at our house; [the Docts—*interlined as a correction,*] & as he sat in his Carriage handed me [a] Letter, which came from Genl Arnold: not suspecting the contents were of consequence or knowing they had taken the Fort, I open'd it, & found in it nearly these Words (I Write from memory) "I

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* A Parish on the Sorel bears the name of Rouville.

† "The Govr."—This was SIR GUY CARLETON. He was born at Strathbane, Ireland, 1722; died Nov. 10, 1808. He was bred to the profession of arms, was with Cumberland in the German campaign, 1757; served under Amherst at Louisburg, 1758; under Wolfe at Quebec, 1759; Quarter-Master General of the Havana expedition, 1762; Lieut. Governor, 1767, and Governor, 1768, of Quebec; attempted to re-capture Ticonderoga, 1775; repulsed the attack on Quebec, in which Montgomery lost his life, Dec. 31, 1775. In 1776 he drove the Americans from the province, and defeated Arnold on Lake Champlain. He was superseded in 1777; made Lieut. General, 1778; Commander-in-Chief, 1781; returned to England, 1783; created Baron Dorchester, 1786, and was appointed Governor of British North America, which office he held till 1796; his administration being marked by mildness and justice.
—*Drake's Amer. Biog. Dict. 161.*

He was a man of resolute character, vast genius, and a brilliant reputation for military achievements. He exerted all his efforts to arouse the Canadians and Indians, and stimulate them to arms against the colonies. —*De Puy's Ethan Allen, 297.*

"Breakfast here, & expect soon to see you & my "friends at Montreal. Dated Ticondaroga." *

this was put into my hands before many witnesses; after *this*, my house was constantly watch'd; reports were spread of Letters being found upon Savages & others directed to Mr W——r from the Rebels. The Govr was heard frequently to say that "there "were persons who absented themselves from Town "whom it would better become, to come to Town & "set an Example of Loyalty to the Canadians by tak-"ing up arms; that *no protection* should screen a "Traitor;" all which was applied to Mr W——r

About this time (the summer of 75) Parties starting from the Colonies were frequently seen about the Lake Champlain, & on the Borders of Canada; in particular a famous Partizan, Capt: Baker † was frequently talk'd of; & a Scouting party of some, if not all savages, was sent out after him; who returned with a report that they had come up with, & fired upon them, & that they believed they had killd the Chief, as they thought they saw him fall behind a Tree,—they, the Indians, dared not go ashore to see, for fear of an ambuscade, but said could the Par-

---

* This was the famous capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, May 10, which came so near being defeated by the puerile contention about precedence, between Allen and Arnold.

† REMEMBER BAKER, whose active and earnest opposition to the New York claimants, in connection with Ethan Allen and Seth Warner has been referred to, was born in Woodbury, Ct., in 1737, [all other authorities I have consulted say 1740]. He was a cousin to Ethan Allen, his father being a brother to Allen's mother. He served as a soldier at Lakes George and Champlain, in the French War, and acquired a knowledge of the lands on his route. He settled at Arlington in 1764, and built, in the east part of the town, the first grist mill in the New Hampshire Grants north of Bennington. [He was a millwright by trade.] After the attempt of Sheriff Munroe to take him to Albany Jail, when he was treated with great harshness, [and from which he was rescued by a band of Green Mountain Boys,] he appears to have been desirous of inflicting severer punishment on the New Yorkers, than his companions. He was with Allen, with the rank of Captain, at the taking of Ticonderoga, and afterward, when Gen. Schuyler commanded in the

ty be reinforc'd they would conduct them to the Spot Where they saw/him fall Capt.n Gordon of the 26th & some others offerd themselves as Voluntiers; the Savages conducted them to the spot, where they found the Body of Capt Baker, whose party had as it appear'd retreated with the greatest precipitation after he *fell*, leaving him unburied; with all his papers in his Pocket Book. in it it was said were some for Mr W——r they brought the Body in great triumph to St Johns where Gen.l Prescot * & all the Military-force then was in Garrison: & gave it, as was then practis'd to the Savages; who treated it too shockingly to be related. †

Northern Department, he was employed to collect information of the military ſituation of the enemy on the Canada border, and was killed in a ſkirmiſh with ſome Indians, in the ſeige of St. Johns, in Auguſt, 1775. —*Hall's Hiſtory of Vermont.*

Montgomery embarked from Crown Point to take poſſeſſion of Iſle Aux Noix on the 21ſt of Aug., and ſent Capt Baker forward to reconoiter the enemy's poſition. When within a few miles of St. Johns he ſecreted his boat, with the intention of marching through the woods. He had ſcarcely left the boat when a party of Indians took poſſeſſion of it. He called to them to return it, and on their refuſal to do ſo, attempted to fire on them, but as he drew up his gun, he received a ſhot through the head. His companions fled, and made their way back to the army with the ſad intelligence. —*De Puy's Ethan Allen, 301, from Thompson's Gaz.* II. 31, 1842.

* Richard Prescott came to America as brevet Colonel of the 7th Foot in 1773. On the reduction of Montreal by the Americans, 1775, in attempting to eſcape to Quebec with the Engliſh troops and military ſtores, he was captured, Nov. 17. Exchanged the following year for Gen. Sullivan. Was in the expedition againſt Rhode Iſland, where he was again taken priſoner, July 10, 1777, but was exchanged for Gen. Lee. Returned to his command in Rhode Iſland, and was made Lieut. General, 1782. His treatment of American priſoners was harſh and brutal.

—*Drake's Amer. Biog. Dict. 739.*

Gen. Preſcott then ordered one of his officers to take me on board the Gaſpee schooner of war, and confine me hands and feet in irons, which was done. —*Allen's Narrative in De Puy, 223.*

† Afterwards the Indians returned and cut off Baker's head, and carried it in triumph to St. Johns, where the Britiſh officers bought it [one author ſays for a guinea] and buried it. The body was

about this time* Scalps were brought in ev'ry day, & the Savages pass'd frequently under my Windows with them bleeding; yelling as they pass'd, sometimes numbers of them would sit down on the steps before my Door, & under my Windows; as if they were sent to terrify me my acquaintance forsook me; Dealers lef our Store; our business was entirely at a stand; ⊠ reports were industriously spread that Parties, sometimes of Savages, sometimes of Canadians, were sent to bring up Mr W——, dead or alive. our Servants were insulted by the Soldiery, & persons continually Watching my motions

a person whose name was Stanly; who after having quitted the Army had been our Domestick (& was at the time I am speaking of on a small farm of ours, just without the Town): came to ask after his Master, & to tell the reports of the Town, & his apprehensions: was, when he went out at the Door, seiz'd by a man who look'd like a Gentleman, & carry'd to the Main Guard; & threatn'd to be hung up immediately if he did not divulge all he knew of his Master's, & my correspondence (with the Rebels) in vain did the poor fellow plead his innocency, & total ignorance of the pretended correspondence: they kept him there sometime, reiterating their threatinings to hang him up if he did not discover all he knew; and at last dismiss d him upon his promising never to come into our house again, or to go on any Errand, or Carry any Billet for me.

all this time Mr W—— was ignorant of what was passing at his own house in Town but he had flying

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likewife interred. Capt. Baker was the firft man killed in the Northern Department, and being a gentleman univerfally refpected, his death made more noife in the country than the loss of a thoufand men towards the end of the American war. —*Ira Allen's Hiflory of Vermont, 63.—Vt. Hiflorical Collections*, I. 365.

* The latter part of Auguft.

⊠ A curious character occurs in the Manufcript at this point, apparently by defign, which has no equivalent in a fount of type.

reports that *things* did not *go right;* & he sent a note by a Country Man who was his Neighbor to request me to come down to which I readily consented & wrote to him to come & meet me as usual half Way on a particular Day. but before the appointed Day St Johns was beseig'd, or invested by General Montgomery.* confusion & animosity was increas'd,

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* RICHARD MONTGOMERY was born in Ireland, Dec. 2, 1736; ſlain in the attack on Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775. He was educated at Trin. Coll., Dublin. Diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Louisburg, under Wolfe; was with Amherſt on Lake Champlain, 1759; made adjutant the following year, and captain in 1762. Served againſt the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and returned to England, 1772; ſold his commiſſion and returned to America. Bought an eſtate at Rhinebeck, on the Hudſon, 1773. and married Robert R. Livingſton's daughter. Member of the firſt Provincial Convention [of New York], 1775; and in June of that year was appointed a Brig. Gen. by Congress; was ſecond in command of the expedition to Canada under Gen. Schuyler, whoſe illness threw the chief command on him in October. [Schuyler was with the army till after it reached Iſle Aux Noix.—*Marſhall's Life of Waſhington*, II. 281, 1805.] He captured St. Johns, Chamblee and Montreal, and effected a junction with Arnold before Quebec, Dec. 4. * * * The aſſault was made early in the morning of the laſt day of the year (1775), and Montgomery and two of his aids were killed at the firſt and only diſcharge from a battery on which they were advancing. His troops, diſheartened, retreated. His death was conſidered a great public calamity. He was eulogized in Parliament by Chatham, Burke, Barre and North. —*Drake's Amer. Biog. Dict. 630–31.*

When the news of his death reached Congress, they adopted reſolutions of condolence with his family, and directed a monument to be erected to his memory, * * * which was erected in front of St. Paul's church in New York. * * * The widow of Montgomery ſurvived him more than half a century, maintaining the dignified poſition of a wife who carries with her to the tomb a name illuſtrious and venerated by an entire nation. Left a widow when young, ſhe wore for upwards of forty years her mourning for her ſoldier, —(it was thus ſhe always named him)—and threw off that attire of gloom only on the eve of the day on which, from the ſame abode from which ſhe had laſt beheld him at his parting with her, full of life and hope, ſhe ſaw paſſing before her on the Hudſon, a ſteamer which bore on its deck, overſhadowed by twenty ſtar-ſpangled banners, the mortal remains of her husband. Tranſported with religious pomp to New York, they were depoſited in the cenotaph erected to his memory in St. Paul's church yard. [This was in 1818.] —*De Puy's Ethan Allen, 311–12.*

many threats thrown out against the suppos'd partizans of the Rebels, & in particular against Mr W——r. I dared not Write and was afraid to go lest the house should be rifled; & I concluded it would be most expedient to send a message to Mr W——r to acquaint him with the confused situation of affairs in general & particularly with my reasons for not meeting him; & to desire him to return back to the farm.

To do this the Messenger must walk 15 Miles,* for I sent him on foot, that he might not raise any suspicion of his being going out of Town, but he was not got half a mile out of Town before he was stopt by the Town Mayor, Mr Hughes, who follow'd him on horseback, & carried him into the first Barn they came to & stript him from head to foot; & even the linings of his shoes were ripped up to search for Letters which he was suppos d to be carrying to his Master. He was threaten'd as the other person had been with *instant Death* / if he did not disclose all he knew of his Masters correspondence with the Rebels[.] he urged his innocence in Vain in vain he *told* his *Errand;* still they threatened him, & kept him confined.

now my servants *left* me, upon being told that their Master would certainly be Hang'd for Treason, & his Fortune Confiscated, and they of course, would lose their Wages. driven at last to desperation I wrote a Billet to Gen[l] Carleton requesting to know the *Cause* of the Steps he was taking with our people; what Crime had been alledg'd against them; his Answer was Verbal, by an Officer, to this Effect: "that "the *proceedings* with my Clerk & Farmer were by "his Order. that I should be made acquainted with "their crime & punishment in due time." upon which I wrote a very submissive Billet to his Exellency; requesting I might be permitted to wait on him; & he appointed an hour; I went; requested as above

* That is, half way from Montreal to Assomption, the appointed place of meeting.

to be made acquainted with his Excellency's motives for such extraordinary proceedings. he said that he had as yet *done nothing* to what he should *have done* had he attended to the representations, & follow d the advise of many people; that there were *many* and heavy charges against Mr W—— & tho' he knew he had the protection of some great men, & had been particularly recommended to him; yet no protection should screen a Traitor: that Mr W—— ought to have set an example to the Canadians by taking up Arms in defence of the Country. *That* I observ'd ought not *yet* to be imputed to him, that I was perswaded he was a Loyal Subject. I presum'd to ask what Else he was charg'd with; he replied that he had sufficient proof for his condemnation, but was not at liberty to tell of what *Nature it was;* but that he had Corresponded with the *Rebels* was well known; & that as he his Ex.y was accountable to the King for his conduct, he was under a necessity of doing what was very disagreeable to him.

I assured his Excellency that the Charge of Correspondence was without foundation; that it was true that a Lett^r had been reciev'd from a person of that description, but that he, Mr W——, had never seen it: that I was sure he did not correspond with the Rebels; that having Lived many Years in Boston, he felt a disinclination to / doing any thing against those poeple, whom he had allways considered as some of the most Loyal Subjects his Majesty had, & was griev'd to hear of the Cruelties that were permitt'd to be exercis'd by Savages & others upon their frontiers; & that he kept out *of the Way*, that he need not be under the Necessity of taking an *active* part against them. this had no Effect on the Govr & in fine he said many severe things, in very soft & Polite terms; but concluded by saying Mr. W——was a dangerous Man, that he the Govr was accountable to the King for his conduct, & the *safety* of the *Province requir'd* that Mr. W——should quit the Country immediately. to which I reply'd with the utmost

Astonishment : " Quit the Country Sir ! tis impossi-
" ble ! Mr W—— cannot quit the Country at present,
" were he so disposed. When he came here he was
" in a situation to chuse his place of Residence but
" his substance is at present out of his hands scat-
" ter'd all over the Indian Countries : it would be *his*
" Ruin and *that* of his Connections, were he to take
" such a Step."

" he *must* go, you may stay & take care of his af-
fairs, & *you* shall be protected."

" Your Excellency knows, that Mr W——rs deal-
" ings are very extensive, so much so, that *I* could
" by no means undertake to superintend them."

" I am very sorry Mad^m to beforce'd to use sever-
" ity against Mr W——r but he must go ; and go by
" the Way of Quebec, & not over the Lakes———"

" as Mr. W knows nothing that is passing here,
" y^r Ex[cellency] will permit me to go to him to ac-
" quaint him."

" Yes, & I will send some person with you to
" guard you from insult ; name any Officer you would
" Wish should accompany you ; Capt Crawford ? "

" Yes Sir."

" You shall go in my Carriage."

" I thank y^r Excell^y, I prefer my Chaise "

We sat out in about an hour (Viz) two in the Afternoon. Arrived at the Village at 10 / of the Clock where I left Capt Crawford at the house of Mr F : C——y, who accompanied me to the potasserie* (as it is call'd) about half a mile from the Village of Assomption. Mr W——s surprise at seeing me at that time of night was great, but what were his feelings when he heard that I came accompanied by a *Kings Officer*, who came in the Gov^rs name to be informed of his [Mr. W——r's] reasons for staying in the country ; & to acquaint him that he must

* Indicating that Mr. Walker was engaged, as so many others were at that time, in the manufacture of pot ashes.

Quit Canada ? He would not suffer the Officer to come to the house ; nor would he see him, till the next Morning. so great was his indignation at his Errand, that he would scarcely be prevail'd upon to to see him at all & hear his Message however, he went the next Morning to M Cys house at the Village. where he heard the Gov,rs Message. To the first part he replied that he was as much at home there as in his house in Town : that [he] knew no person to whom [he] was as to that matter accountable. that he was a British Subject, & had a right to reside anywhere ; & where he had *property*, he thought his Right *unquestionable*. that he came down there to superintend the Erecting some additional Out Buildings, that were necessary on his Farm ; & for some other Business : & when that was accomplish'd he shou[d] return to Town. That it would be very inconvenient to quit Canada in the present situation of the Publick, & of his private affairs ; but if Gov[r] Carleton would give him an Order, in Writing to quit, & endemnify him for any subsequent Loss to him, & his Connections, that he would obey his Order ; upon which we took our Leave ; he return'd to the Potasserie, I came with the Officer to Town. I left him to report the Ans[r] to the G——r, & went to our own house & never saw nor heard from Mr W for three Weeks or more. /

all this time I past under the most allarming apprehensions in dreary solitude in the Midst of a large & populous Town, alone ; forsaken by ev ry individual acquaintance ; who dared not *look* at, much less *Enter* my house, for fear of falling under suspicion of being accomplices in the suppos'd Treason ; ev ry one *forbid* on pain of Imprisonment to carry a scrip of paper for me to my husband ; & expecting ev'ry moment to hear he was taken, or kill'd in his house ; I took the resolution of Locking up the house & Stores, & went down to Assomption. I fled like a Bird escap'd from the snares of the Fowler, but expecting every moment to be persued.

I arriv'd without accident or allarm * at Assumption, my husband receiv d me with the most cordial & lively affection which the Sense of our danger had encreas'd to the highest degree that human Nature is capable of. I told him I came to share his fate †

* * * * * *

& I employ'd every opportunity, & us'd ev'ry argument that prudence & affection could suggest, to persuade him to go, if not quite away to go to some friend s house at a Distance, or to secure a part of the moveable property which we had there by putting it in the hands of some person in the Neighborhood, particularly some money & valuables which I brought down with me ‡ Expecting the house in Town would be rifled ; all this was to no purpose, his answer was I am able to Defend my Property ; I will never leave that to another that I can do myself

about this time a Rash Attack was made upon the City of Montreal by a handful of men under Ethan Allen ; § who were defeated ; himself taken, & sent to England with some of the people ; some saved themselves by flight, & others after being hid by some of the Canadians, were directed **

* * * * * *

on a Point of Land form d by the River Assomption,

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* This muſt have been in the latter part of September.

† From this point the lower half of each page is torn off and wanting. *See Introduction.* The lines of asteriſks will indicate where the miſſing parts would come in.

‡ See Note **B.2.** at the end.

§ This "Raſh Attack" was made on the 25th of September [1775]. Allen had with him 110 men. He expected to be supported by Captain Brown, with about an equal number, but was diſappointed. His "Narrative" which became ſo famous, tells the ſtory of his captivity.

** This miſſing half-page undoubtedly exhibited the connection between Ethan Allen's "Raſh Attack on the City of Montreal," and the calamities which were viſited upon Mr. Walker ſhortly after. The following extract from Allen's "Narrative" throws light on the probable contents of the miſſing fragment :—

& a small Rivulet, which empties itself into the said River & over which there was a Bridge which led to to our House. down this Riverlet the farmers who lived at the upper Pass call[d] the *Point du jour* Carryed their Wheat to Mill

About 9 o'clock in the Ev'ning on the 5th of Oct[r] we were allarmed by the Barking of our Dogs (of which we had several about the farm) & sent one of the servants up stairs to look out of Window to see what it was ; he came down saying there was a number of men in a Canoe or Canoes who row'd up the Stream as if the D——l was in them. Still Mr. W——r would not be Warn'd, they were, *he said*, the *Habitans* returning in a Noisy Vein from the Mill, & advis'd me to drive away Womanish Apprehensions, to compose myself and go to rest : he went

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with his Coat on which with great agility he had put

My whole party at this time [of the "Rash Attack"] consisted of about 110 men, of whom near eighty were Canadians. . . . The sign [to Capt. Brown] failing, I began to conclude myself in a premunire, and would have crossed the river back again, but I knew the enemy would have discovered such an attempt. . . . I concluded therefore to maintain the ground if possible. . . . In consequence of this resolution, I despatched two messengers, one to Laprairie to Col. Brown, and the other to l'Assomption, a French settlement, to *Mr. Walker* who was in our interest, requesting their speedy assistance, giving them, at the same time, to understand my critical situation. In the mean time sundry persons came to my guards, prtending to be friends, but were by them taken prisoners and brought to me. These I ordered to confinement until their friendship could be further confirmed ; for I was jealous they were spies, as they proved to be afterwards. One of the principal of them making his escape, exposed the weakness of my party, which was the final cause of my misfortune ; for I have been since informed that *Mr. Walker*, agreeably to my wishes, exerted himself, and had raised a considerable number of men for my assistance, which brought him into difficulty afterwards, but upon hearing of my misfortune, he disbanded them again. —*Allen's Narrative in De-Puy, 219.*

It was doubtless in chastisement of this attempt to give "aid and comfort" to the Rebels, that the calamity of the 5th of October was visited upon Mr. Walker and his wife.

on as his Fire *Arms* were some of them in his Pockets. he plac'd himself at the head of the Stair Case ; & I got up to a place above thes Rooms, & heard them come in Yelling & swearing ; calling for the D——d T——r to come out. finding no person (for the servants all fled instantly,) they attempted the Stair Case, but a Blunderbuss fired by Mr W——r dispers'd them in a moment ; the Officers a Corporal, a Captn of Militia & some others were wounded. [A]* they imediately held a Council amongst themselves, with The Serjeant who succeeded to the Command & concluded to *Load* & *fire* as fast as they could into the house ; first setting fire to the four Corners of it ; which they did, by placing combustibles on Poles, as well as at the Bottom.

Whilst this was doing, I laid myself down on my face by a stack of Chimnies, which

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as he came down.

But Serjeant McFall, who had succeeded to the command of the Party, prevented him, by telling them that, when a Gent^n had surrender'd himself, he was under the protection of the party. they notwithstanding handled him very roughly, & almost strangled him by holding him by the Collar of his Shirt——

I observ'd, above, that the Season had been Rainy for sometime past ; the Land was rich, & I stood up to the mid-leg in mud ; without shoe, or stocking, or any other covering on me for sometime. Deaf to my entreaties this *humane* officer would neither order the Soldiers to give me my own Apparel, (which they distributed amongst themselves before my face,) [B] nor suffer me to go into a Neighbor's to Borrow some. At last my Negro Woman pull'd off her shoes & lent them to me ; & gave me a piece of an old Sheet, which being thrown over my head, cover'd me all over. soon after, Serjeant McFall, per-

* These letters [A—E] refer to Notes at the end.

ceiving my situation, kindly took off his Blanket-Coat & put it on me

The house was by this time nearly consumed & the plunder distributed amongst the Party ; the Cellars having been Visited & signs * * * discretion the Casks were now stov^{n} [C]

* * * * * *

we were hurried into a Batteau, & put on Board this Vessel, where we stay'd about an hour ; then we were reconducted to the Batteau, where we found one or two Officers, who had not made their Appearance before. a Corporal who had been wounded was laid in the Bottom of the Boat on a Mattrass taken from our Beds ; the sight of this Man & his Groans were intended no doubt to *increase* the *horror* of our situation.

There were two other Batteaus which sat off directly after us. The *apprehended* Rescue still in view, & the Soldiers in Liquor, & not used to *that* River ; instead of keeping close within shore, where the Current is less violent, went out into the Stream, & were of course hurried down with the current from Rock to Rock, oftentimes at the risque of their Lives : & for a long time, found themselves just in the same place from whence they had sat out——

At the junction of the River Assomption with the River St. Lawrence, we were join d by more Batteaus fill'd with Soldiers ; which for the Safety of the Party, had been sent up the former River to intimidate & prevent the Poeple rising [for our rescue.]*

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* Strong hopes were entertained, and not without reason, of attaching the Canadians to the American interest. Ethan Allen, under instructions from Gen. Montgomery, made two expeditions into Canada, the second while the seige of St. Johns was in progress, accompanied by interpreters, and visited every Parish on the Sorrel to its mouth, then crossed over and proceeded as far as Longueille, "preaching politics." The instructions given to Arnold, when he started on his expedition against Quebec through Maine, to conciliate the Canadians and treat them as friends, as

thus we proceeded up the River [till we] arriv'd within about 4 miles from Town.

* * * * * *

there. He then order'd him to be pinion'd; it was done instantly. then order'd his Irons should be put on, & Riveted well. [D]* "take this unhappy "man, put him in such a place, & give him a Straw "bed & a Blanket & we will show you Sir, what "*Military Justice* is." they led him from me, & I never again saw him 'till I procure'd his Liberty thro' the assistance of Gen[l] Montgomery.

"Where is the *other* Prisoner? where is M[rs] Walk-"er? come forward; so Madam! & *you* have been "very forward, in this *affair* of the Rebellion."

"*What* have I done Sir, to Merit this treatment?

"Oh! We know, what you have done," then imitating my Voice & Manner, he said: Esperez Mes "Enfans, Esperez; nous verrons! however the "Gov[r], in consideration of your Sex, Allows you to "go to your own house, under Guard, where you "will not be permitted to *see* any person. Capt: "Anstruther, will you conduct Mrs Walker to her "house?" I went, on his arm, & found a Man and Maid Servant whom I left with the Care of the house.

As soon as the first effusions of Grief had a little subsided, I sent the *Man* for the Key of an Apartment which contain'd

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& where the Dogs had likewise been the Companions

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prepared by Washington, were very strict and explicit. Marshall says these hopes were disappointed by obstacles too great to be overcome, though not from the disinclination of the people.

—*Washington's Letter, Camb. Sept. 14, 1775.*

* It appears from Allen's Narrative, that Gen. Prescott had the charge of prisoners at Quebec, when he, Allen, was captured. Gen. Prescott commanded at St. Johns. when Remember Baker's body was given up to the savages. Gen. Prescott was collecting a fleet at Montreal, when Mr. Walker was seized and put in irons.

THE NEWBERRY

of both Parties & shared their beds. under these circum stances I continued two days, the third Day thinking I knew the Voice of the Centinel who was under the Portico at the Back Door of the house, I ventured to open the Door & spoke to him. It turn^d out to be as I thought a Monsr Fromanteau, who but two years before was our Clerk, & Overseer at the Farm & Potasserie, at Assomption. To pretend to describe his sur prise, mix'd with horror at seeing me, would be vain. I desired he would go to the Governor & request him to let me have my Keys & some food ; & that some person might be sent, in whom they could trust to fetch me Water &c, of which I had none but what was stale to drink he return'd with my Keys ; & an assurance that he the Go^r had not been made acquainted ; that it was not his desire that either of us should suffer any thing but confinement. Mr Jones the Deputy Provost, Who had Charge of Mr W. came to me, & offer'd me provision from his own Table

soon after this the Govr sent an Off-

* * * * * *

The pleasure of preparing a repast for my beloved unfortunate husband, was soon imbitterd & the End defeated by the insolence of the Centinels, upon various pretexts : It was sent too *soon*, or too *late* for the Guard who had made his report, & the Door could not be Open'd. add to this that the Dishes were uncover'd to Look for Letters, &c : & the Food was spoil d & Cold, before he got it. dispairing to raise the Seige of St Johns,* they began now to think

* Schuyler and Montgomery fet out from Crown Point on the 21ſt of Auguſt, and proceeded to Iſle Aux Noix. On the 6th of September, Montgomery took command of the troops (about 1000) and proceeded to St. Johns, and Schuyler returned to Albany. On the 17th, St. Johns was beſeiged. On the 25th, Ethan Allen was captured at Montreal. On the 18th of October, Majors Brown and Livingſton captured Chambly, and with it 100 priſoners and a large ſupply of military ſtores ; alſo the ſtandard of the 7th Regiment,

of making good their Retreat, with all their effects, to Quebec* before they Capitulated. [E]

About this time I had a Negro Boy, (who with two men Negro's & a Woman had deserted from the Farm at the time of our misfortune,) come to me to Wait on his Master, & he brought me Word that I must send as much provision as would last three days, for that they would not open the Door ev ry Day. Words are wanting to describe my consternation ! the measure of my affliction was now full. I perceiv'd their designs in a moment, & communicated my fears, which proved to be but *too* well grounded, to a confidential friend, who procur'd a person to watch the place where Mr W—— was confined, Day & night.† They intended to steal him away from me ; but I found out on the third Day that taking advantage of a Stormy Day, they had hurried him on Board a Vessel in the Gov^t service, commanded by one Lisant, [?] a

* * * * * *

The Town was now in the greatest confusion. St-Johns Capitulated to Genl Montgomery, ev'ry thing having been as I observ'd above put on board the Vessels (11 in Number) the Inhabitants were told that if they did not engage to Defend the Town he

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the first British flag captured in the war. On the 3rd of November-Col. Preston surrendered St. Johns, and his force of a little over 600 men was sent to New England. In the fort was a large quantity of guns and military stores. On the 13th Montgomery took possession of Montreal. A year later, the last American soldier had been expelled from Canada. —*Thomp. Gaz. II. 36–40.*

* This effort to save their effects was vain. "A large number of armed vessels, loaded with provisions and other necessaries, and Gen. Prescott, with 120 British officers and privates, attempted to escape down the river, but were stopped at the mouth of the Richelieu, and all captured by the Americans, without the loss of a man." —*Ibid.*

† Her fear manifestly was, that Mr. Walker would be sent to England for trial with Allen, which apparently he was not, as will be seen by the Note on p. 46.

the Gov[r] would set it on fire. however they refus d ; & the Vessels with all the troops & partizans that were not at St Johns, sail d without firing the Town. The same Night, Gen[l] Montgomery landed his Troops on an Island just above the Town call'd Isle S Paul. this night a faithfull friend came to me & offer'd me any service or [to] do anything towards Liberating Mr W— — that I could suggest. I told him I had plann'd in my own mind a probable scheme, & wanted only so faithfull and Active a friend as himself to execute it, it was this. — I have Read some where that a *Single* Gun in a Retired situation placed on an Eminence, at a certain distance would do great Execution on a Vessel that is passing. You know that the Passage somewhere near the Point of Sorrel is very Narrow, so that a Vessel can only pass near the Shore.

[Here ends the connected portion of the Narrative. Certain notes which follow, covering one of the folio pages of the Manuſcript, were manifeſtly written in enlargement of some ſtatements in the Narrative, and I have indicated by the letters **A** to **E**, the portions to which they appear to refer.]

A. p.47.—This was the first Military exploit of the Officer in question ; who had his Commission given him, upon Condition of his performing [this] service. He was before a Clerk to a merchant in Town, his name was McDonald, was one of the family of that name who had lately Emigrated from the highlands of Scotland

B. p.47.—1. When they were distributing the plunder they divided amongst other Goods a Peice of handker[fs] of which I entreated them to give me One, but they refused

2. The Business I spoke about was to desire he would go as soon as the Ruins were Cold, & seek for a Trunk, which I had made a Servant bury in some ashes the Ev'ning before, containing a sum of money which I had brought with

me from Town.* He did so & found the Trunk unhurt, but intimidated by a proclamation ordering ev'ry person who had saved any of Mr W——r['s] Effects at the late Incendie to carry them in to Commissioners appointed to receive them : he deliver'd up the Trunk in question to them. the Cash Mr W—— had in the house was divided as well as every thing Else before our faces without any ceremony

C. p.48.— [At this point, or in the break which here occurs, appears to come in the following :]

When the wounded Officer Orderd horses for himself & others. Sargeant McFall said, " & bring " a Carriage for y^r Mistress too," to which the Officer s^d, " no D——n her, let her Walk."

D. p.49.—and they [the irons] were rivitted in so cruel a manner as to jar the Bone, & were twice the usual Sise & Weight, nor did Mr W—— ever get over the Injury his Legs receiv'd, to the Day of his Death. all his disorders settled there, & he has been frequently heard to say, I shall perish by my Legs. * * * * *

E. p.51.—where all the french Nobleese & english partizans were assembled to defend the Fort. At this time attempts were made to Effect a Landing on the opposite Shore † with all the force the Govr had Join d by a Party of Savages, headed by LaCom St Luc,‡ & his Son in Law Capt Campbell, hoping to join the Royal Emi-

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* See ſtatement on p. 45.

† Carleton embarked his troops at Montreal, with the view of croſſing the St. Lawrence, and landing at Longueiſle. Their embarkation was obſerved by Col. Seth Warner from the oppoſite ſhore, with about 300 Green Mountain Boys. Juſt before they reached the ſouth ſhore Warner opened upon them a well-directed fire of muſketry, and grape-ſhot from a four-pounder, by which unexpected aſſault the enemy were thrown into the greateſt confuſion, and ſoon retreated with precipitation and diſorder. —*Thomp. II.36.*

‡ This name not clearly legible.

grants Commanded by M^c^lean * Rais'd for that purpose in Quebec & sent up the Sorrel in this they fail'd, & they gave up all hopes of raising the Siege.

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* Col. Allan Maclean was born in Torlifh, Scotland, about 1725; died in 1784. He was a Lieutenant in the Dutch fervice, 1747, and was taken at the feige of Bergen Op Zoom. Obtaining in 1757 a company in the 62d Regiment, he left the Dutch fervice and came to America; was at the taking of Fort Du Quefne in 1758; ferved under Amherft in 1759; and raifed the 114th Highlanders, of which he was Major commanding. Made Lieut.-Colonel, 1771; came to America again in 1775; raifed a corps known as the Royal Highland Emigrants, and threw himfelf into Quebec, 12 Nov. 1775, juft in time to prevent its furrender to Arnold, and to render great fervice during its feige. He commanded the fort at Penobfcot, Me., againft which the unfortunate expedition of Lovell and Saltonftall was directed in July, 1779, and was made Colonel in 1780. He was a brave and active officer. —*Drake's Dict. of Amer. Biog.*

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Appendix.

I.

THE FIRE IN MONTREAL. P. 35.

The fire to which Mrs. Walker refers in the firſt lines of her Narrative, took place on the 18th of May, 1765. It was one of the moſt diſaſtrous that had ever occurred in Britiſh America. In it 108 houſes were conſumed, and 215 families were rendered homeleſs. The loſs, including buildings, merchandize, furniture and apparel, was eſtimated at upwards of £87 580 ſterling, on which there was no inſurance. Montreal was at that time a town of 7000 inhabitants. The buildings were moſtly of ſtone, with ſhingled roofs ; and no means of protection againſt fire, or of ſubduing the flames, exiſted in the place. The portion burned was the moſt wealthy and buſineſs part of the town. Five years before, Canada had become a Britiſh Province. Its chief commerce was in the furs purchaſed of the Indians. Montreal was the chief ſeat of this traffic, and had attracted many Engliſh merchants and adventurers, who had there taken up their abode with their families. For protection againſt the Canadians and Indians, a conſiderable military garriſon was ſtationed there. The portion of the town untouched by the fire could do little more than give ſhelter to the houſeleſs, and afford immediate relief to the ſufferers. A committee was appointed, of four French and four Engliſh citizens, through whoſe efforts a ſyſtematic endeavor was made in England to raiſe funds to partially reimburſe the loſſes by the fire. To effect this a ſecond committee was formed, conſiſting of twenty-four Engliſh gentlemen, including ſeveral of the nobility, who met every Thurſday at the New York Coffee Houſe in London. This committee iſſued a ſtatement and appeal, ſetting forth the facts and neceſſities of the caſe, in the form of a 12° pamphlet, adorned with two copper-plate engravings in medallion, one of his Majeſty George the III., the other repreſenting Montreal in flames, with Canada beſeeching aid of Britannia in the foreground. The appearance of the engravings ſuggeſts that a medal was ſtruck to commemorate the diſaſter and the munificence of the King, and poſſibly to aid in raiſing funds. This "Statement and Appeal" went through at leaſt three editions, but is rarely met with in this country. A copy of the laſt edition,

containing what appears to be a final report of the committee, obtained in England by the late Samuel G. Drake, Esq., is now in the possession of this Society. To the relief fund the King subscribed £500; the city of London, £400; and many noblemen, gentlemen and ladies, with various municipalities of England, sums varying from £1. to £100; the whole amounting to £3444 15*s* 2*d*.

II.

LETTER FROM JOHN BROWN TO THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF SAFETY. P. 43.

JOHN BROWN of Pittsfield was, in February, 1775, commissioned by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, to make a journey through Vermont and Canada, to ascertain the condition of affairs and the temper of the people on the Northern frontier. Writing from Montreal, under date of Mar. 29, 1775, he says:—

I delivered your letters to Messrs. *Thomas Walker* and *Blake*, and was very kindly received by the Committee of Correspondence of *Montreal*, from whom I received the following statement of affairs in the Province of *Quebeck*. Governour *Carleton* is no great politician; a man of sour, morose temper; a strong friend of Administration, and to the late Acts of the *British* Parliament, which respect America, particularly the *Quebeck* Bill; has restrained the liberty of the press, that nothing can be printed without examination and license. Application has been made to him for printing the address from the Continental Congress, and a refusal obtained. All the troops in this Province are ordered to hold themselves in readiness for *Boston* at the shortest notice. Four or five hundred snow-shoes are prepared, for what use they know not. Mr. *Walker* has wrote you about three weeks since, and has been very explicit. He informs you that two regular officers (lieutenants) have gone off in disguise, supposed to be gone to *Boston*, and to make what discovery they can through the country. I have the pleasure and satisfaction to inform you that, through the industry and exertions of our friends in *Canada*, our enemies are not, at present, able to raise ten men for Administration. . . . . I have established a channel of correspondence through the *New Hampshire Grants*, which can be depended on. Mr. *Walker's* letter comes by the hand of Mr. *Jeffiers*, once of *Boston*, now on his way thither. . . . One thing I must mention to be kept a profound secret. The Fort at *Ticonderoga* must be seized as soon as possible, should hostilities be commenced by the King's troops. —*Force's Amer. Archives, 4th S. ii. 243; Annual Address before the Vt. Hist. Soc., Oct. 8, 1872, by Hon. Lucius E. Chittenden, App. iv. 97.*

Mr. Walker's letter, referred to in the preceding, does not appear in the correſpondence of the Maſſachuſetts Committee, as printed in Force's *American Archives*.

III.

MONTREAL COMMITTEE TO THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE, P. 43.

MONTREAL, APR. 8, 1775.

GENTLEMEN :

We have received your letter, of the 21ſt of February by Mr. *Brown*, and ſee clearly the great injuries that have been done you. We deeply feel the sorrows and afflictions of our ſuffering brethren, and ſincerely wiſh it was in our power to afford relief; but alas, we are more the objects of pity and concern than yourſelves, who are now ſuffering under the heavy hand of power, deprived, as we are, of the common rights of the miſerable, *to complain*. You have numbers, ſtrength and a common cauſe to ſupport you in your oppoſition. We are ſtill more divided here by intereſts, than by our religion, language and manners, and the apprehensions of evils to come upon us in a ſhort time, from the unlimited power of the Governour, ſtrikes all oppoſition dead. Indeed, few in this Colony dare vent their griefs, but groan in ſilence, and dream of letters de catchet, confiſcation and impriſonment, offering up fervent prayers to the throne of grace to proſper your righteous cauſe, which alone will free us from thoſe jealous fears and apprehenſions that rob us of our peace. In a word, we are *Britiſh* inhabitants of this widely extended Province, united in their ſentiments. We have neither numbers nor wealth ſufficient to do you any eſſential ſervice. We muſt therefore caſt ourſelves into the arms of our ſister Colonies, relying upon the wiſdom, vigor and firmneſs of the General Continental Congreſs for our protection, and hoping they will entertain no animoſity or reſentment againſt us, because we cannot join them in the enſuing General Congreſs, which, were we to attempt, the Canadians would join the Government to fruſtrate. You will pleaſe to bear in mind that not only thoſe who hold the helm of government, but alſo all thoſe who make wealth or ambition the chief object of their purſuit, are profeſſedly our enemies, and would be glad to reduce you to the ſame abject ſtate with themſelves. Nevertheleſs, the bulk of the people, both *Engliſh* and *Canadians*, are of quite contrary ſentiments, and wiſh well to your cauſe, but dare not ſtir a finger to help you, being of no more eſtimation in the political machine, than the ſailors are in ſhaping the courſe, and working the ſhip in which they ſail. They may mutter and ſwear, but they muſt obey. However, ſhould Govern-

ment handle them too roughly, and arbitrarily attempt to force them upon dangerous and diſagreeable ſervice, to which they have already ſhown an unreconcilable averſion, they may, perhaps, dearly repent it,

The caſe is quite different with their nobleſe or gentry. The pre-eminence given to their religion, together with a participation in the honors and offices, in common with the *Engliſh*, not only flatters their national pride and vanity, but is regarded by them as a mark of diſtinction and merit, and lays open their way to fortune. Of liberty or law they have not the leaſt notion.

As to the ſavages that dwell round about us, doubtleſs there are ſome to be found among them who, for the ſake of plunder, would murder, burn and deſtroy ; but we conceive their chiefs know their own intereſt better than to interfere as a nation in this family quarrel ; for let which ſide will prevail, they are ſure in that caſe to be the victims.

We deſire to know whether *Engliſh* Delegates would be accepted under the above [following] named limitations, namely : Without entering into the General Aſſociation for the non-importation of goods from *Great Britain*, or the non-exportation of the produce of this Colony, and the India Countries above ; and beg to be informed in what manner we can be ſerviceable to your cauſe without bringing down ruin on our own heads. It may not be amiſs juſt to hint that the idea the *Canadians* ſeem to have of this Colony at preſent is, that it is to be a *French* Government, holding under the Crown of *Great Britain*, from which they mean to exclude every *Engliſhman*, ſave the Governour and Lieutenant Governour.

We heartily wiſh our abilities to ſerve you were equal to our wills, and pray Heaven to proſper your generous purpoſe ; and are with the utmoſt conſiderations and feeling for your diſtreſſes, gentlemen, your moſt obedient and very humble ſervants and fellow-ſufferers,

THOS. WALKER, JAMES PRICE,
JOHN WELLS, WM. HAYWARD.

P.S. It is our earneſt requeſt that this letter may not be publiſhed, for fear of bad conſequences to the ſubſcribers.

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